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FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO WITH A FLOWER LABRET

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FIGURE 1. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO GIRL

[P. 111]

[Plate VII]

## Chapter II

## THE VOCABULARY OF KINSHIP

*601 In its usage Bororo kinship terminology is seemingly complex, though in its essential conception it is quite [538] simple. Referential uses of kinship terms are found in myths and stories, as well as in daily life when a person speaks about his kinsmen. Vocative uses constitute another slightly different system, much used in personal interactions. By extragenealogical social extensions, when desired, the terms (in both of these usages) may include any [846] person within the tribe. Changes in the referential and [553] vocative terminology between two concerned persons occur [304] following the cutting of the umbilical cord, the imposition of a name, the piercing of one's ear lobes, and the pierc- [768] ing of a man's nasal septum. The changes occurring on the occasion of death affect several people, usually a large part of the village. Some adjectives can be added to the terms, or these can be left without adjectives; in either case different nuances of meaning can be conveyed to the addressee or to the listener. When the need for more precision arises, the Bororo specify the kin type, for example: "my mother's older brother's daughter" (imuga umana onaregedu aredu), "my father's younger sister's child"

553 ready "grandfather" (iyedaga) by definition, while the sec-
604 ond kin type (FFSs) is brought into the same class by equiv-
alences already presented:

FFSs → FFMs (by the skewing rule)
→ FFB (by the half sibling rule)
→ FF (by the merging rule)
∴ iyedaga (by definition)

Thus the naming rule should be written as: any senior matrilateral relative who is Ego's namegiver should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's senior patrilateral relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any junior sororifilial relative to whom Ego gave a name should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's junior fratrifilial relative.

304 The same rule applies also to the senior "brother" (MB,
604 MMB) who pierces the ear lobe of Ego. The rule was written
553 without specifying the sex of the namegiver. On some very
604 rare occasions a child's "older sister" (MS, MMS) will pro-
[601] pose the name for him (her). If her suggestion is accepted,
601 the child will call her imarugo ("grandmother"). There is
604 still another instance in which a person calls his "older
[846] sister" imarugo, and that is when this "sister" cuts the umbilical cord when the child is born, in absence of a woman belonging to the lineage or clan of the child's father, who normally have this prerogative. Reductions applied to her are:

*601 inebutojagiwu ("the one born after me"), or koduirekodajiwu
561 ("the one who follows me"). The first-born is designated boetojiwu ("the first one"), while the last-born is designated boigoduwu ("the last"). When there are three brothers, the oldest will be described as etumanareu ("their older brother"), the second as boyadadawu ("the one in the middle"), and the youngest one as etuviyereu ("their younger brother"). Further, any young sibling also can be ad-
*601 dressed as imedregedu. Finally there is a special term for
• 304 a man's first born son, ikenojiwu ("the one on my nose," which alludes to the custom of piercing a man's nasal septum on the same occasion when his first-born son is given a name).

*601 There are still a few more alternative terms that should be mentioned here. These are mostly those related to actual
607 differences in relationships among kinsmen. If a man quar-
*601 rels with his sister's husband, he will call the latter otogududogedu ("the one to whom pity was shown," meaning that the brothers gave their sister as wife to him out of pity). He will be called in return by his proper name instead of imedu. Two men married to sisters, if on good terms, may choose to call each other reciprocally either ito inowu ("the one like me") or imeduya ("my companion") instead of iyedaca and ivagedu. Similarly two women married to the same man, will call each other reciprocally either itoydo ("the one
*601 like me") or imedago ("my companion"). There are also some
593 conventional expressions used when two people speak about a third person to whom both of them are related. For example,

585 1942: 39). If a child marriage is to be contracted, the
[304] girl's family will ask her future husband, instead of her
[224] brother, to pierce her ear lobes. A more elaborate ceremony is performed when the girl is given as a wife to the hunter who has killed a jaguar for some of her dead brothers. In this case, however, she is only one of the gifts that are given to him in exchange for the jaguar skin. The other gifts, bow and arrows and poari (a musical instrument) are obligatory. Of particular interest for us is the speech that one of the girl's brothers makes when he delivers her to the hunter. He says:

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539 "This is your wife, stay with her. This is the place for your bow, for your arrow. Here is the place for you to eat nokodu, noa, noidoya, the place for you to eat motore and honey. Here your ruwobo, your aria, your pori (different kinds of containers) are waiting for your fish, for your game. Here you will eat nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu. You should look after this girl, take care of her, so that she will make kodo as your mat, beto as your blanket. She will make the basket where your arrows will stay. She will wash you and give you to drink. She will go to meet you when you come back from fishing or from the hunt, when you come back from the woods or the hills. You do not have a mother, older sister, or younger sister anymore. This girl will be your mother, your older sister, your younger sister. You should treat her with care. Do not scare her when she goes to get water, when she goes to get firewood. Do not scare her when she is eating fish or when she is eating meat. You should defend her from other bad women, from the things she is afraid of. Do not scare her. You will be her mother, her father, her brother, and she will love you with all her heart."[1]

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[1] Akoredujereo, awudo apore amugure, atugo pare, awoiga pare, ake nokodu, noa, noidoya jetareo, ake motore jetareo, ake miyawoe gigodugedu jetareo. Woere aruwobo, akaria, apori jeture ako karo togi, ako barogo togi. Woere a mode nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu kowuje, woe. Awudojire aeture

gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time. At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

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[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Araroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Araroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities <u>are</u> differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Araroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[291] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (<u>Boroge rore ino jamedu</u>). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)

uku ika (a musical instrument)

periko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)

baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)

okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)

biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)

enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo irogodu (body painting)

imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)

imo periko (a headdress)

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764 denied water burial.[1]

553 If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into
787 the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the
772 meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature;
533 it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It
is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially
302 the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child
237 is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries.
673 She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of
152 them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is
534 also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the
775 arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the
Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo
304 can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are
593 done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given
614 to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child be-
comes a member of the human race, but particularly a member
of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society.
787 After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams
533 were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to
764 put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these
273 occasions the female sex always has a secondary role. According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
[309] Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas
164 in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

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616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
614 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to
[614] the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[562] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso
[113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P. W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[614] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
[616] Bororos, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

/130 cont./

584 585 [601] to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the wife, who will receive and will place everything in order, while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment on they will live together, they will call each other by the names of it'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two [304] customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 831 [302] What this German explorer is able to tell about the young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502): "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

/152 cont./

562 she who commands."

121 562 If we want to investigate the importance of the adornment in the situation of the sexes, we have to ask first when does it serve for proclaiming the adorned individual to the other sex or to his own, and when for showing him superior to the other sex or to his own. But before trying to obtain an answer to such questions, it is necessary to distinguish the adornment conditioned by the society from the adornment originated by the individual.

301 Among the Bororo we can designate as "social adornment" the decorating with the peculiar ornaments of the different clans and with the ornament of plumes connected with [237] religio-collective purposes. The large crown of arara feathers, called pariko, the chest ornament which consists of claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/, and all the various kinds of lip pendants belong to the male sex. [304] [856] The ear lobes, however, are pierced for both sexes, for the purpose of adorning them, that is, as Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 474) mentions, among the lads by the father, as soon as they are eight to ten years of age and begin seriously to prove their skill as a hunter, and among the girls (K. von den Steinen, o.c., p. 501), as we have already seen, as a kind of a signal of a marriage promise by the future husband (4).

4. Let us present here the metal earrings. Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 100) describes a man with this earring in his ear. The Bororo assured me that certain clans wore and wear this ear ornament made of shells, but /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ others made theirs out of a metal which the tribe formerly possessed. They say that this metal

20. Eastern Bororo: Alaysa Aroia Chereudda with her son (Sangradouro)

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21. Eastern Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde with the metal earring of the clan of the Aroia in his ear lobe (Sangradouro)

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22. Eastern Bororo: Another appearance of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Bokodori is the name of his clan and means "tatu canastra"/ armadillo/; Kudde means "shout" (Sangradouro)

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23. Eastern Bororo: A smile by Mario Bokodori Kudde (Sangradouro)

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6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Borono SP8

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dren. The mourners, especially the women, wail loudly and further express their grief by cutting themselves so deeply with sharpened mussel shells that their blood runs onto the mat that covers the corpse. [152] [304]

At sundown the body is wrapped in the sleeping mat. If the deceased is a man, his bow and arrows are wrapped with him, and the bundle is taken out to the plaza. All the villagers gather

[p. 40-E]

[text continues on p. 41-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1983
SP8 Borom SP8

Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

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All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles.

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The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over.

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When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition.

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To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows.

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Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community.

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[p. 41-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororó SP8

relative of the deceased, who shoulders the basket and carries it to the men's house. As she sits outside the house, holding the basket in her lap, the other female kin of the deceased once more gash their arms and breasts, and allow their blood to run onto the basket. The men once again shake their gourd rattles and sing the songs and lamentations they intoned at the time of death.

MEANWHILE, several men begin to decorate the skull, which is placed on a newly woven mat resting on the jaguar skin. After smearing it with resin, they press red, blue, yellow, and white feathers on the surface in a traditional pattern. Women may witness the decoration of the skull; in fact, while it is being adorned, they spill the blood from their fresh mourning wounds on it.

The other bones are decorated with urucú and bands of feathers, and

[p.46-C]
[text continues on p. 48-A]

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DURING DECORATING, women gash their skin and allow blood to drip on skull.

Notice cuts on arm of woman at right, whose hair is cropped as mourning sign.

[p. 47-B]

6;Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8



302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
● 304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogódau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the tatou canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8



When holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322 a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At
[304] sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8



family came to us often, saying "*Nogarrda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 289 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [764]

## Brasil.

301 from us, around their heads; while the boys tied them around their loins, allowing the flap to drop behind.

302 It is chiefly the young men that besmear themselves from head to foot with the yellowish-red grease, or paint, until they glisten in the sunshine, and also mass a red, putty-like material into their hair. Both sexes allow their coarse, black, horse-tail like hair to grow long and drop down in an ugly, tangled mass over their shoulders, except in front, where it is cut off, like "bangs." The young men also paint a black crescent over the forehead from cheek to cheek, or a complete circle, passing over the upper lip; and glue bright feather epaulets on their shoulders. The men pull out every hair [304] of their sparse beards and also of their eyebrows, which gives them a peculiar look; and occasionally pierce the nose and ears as well as the lower lip.

142 The Bororó are large, stoutly-built, powerful men. I do not remember having seen one less than five feet eight inches tall.

554 Social grades exist among these children of the forest just as among higher races, though much less complex and not so distinctly marked. They have, in a small, crude way, an "upper ten" and a "lower ten" thousand; "high caste" people and "outcasts"; "dudes," "belles," and "back numbers;" "big men," "first families," and "the masses."

301 177 We could not but be highly amused at times because of the astonishing habiliments in which these big, overgrown children occasionally appeared. Any garment secured from us was always regarded purely as an ornament, and not in any sense as a necessary article of covering, unless to protect themselves at times from the cold, or from insects. Neither did they have any knowledge of the civilized world's mandates as to the manner in which these articles should be worn. One day, my companion gave a pair of white drawers and a white vest to a dignified old captain who already possessed a black shirt and hat. Shortly thereafter, he appeared wearing all these articles as a morning dress, and these *only*. In the afternoon, he visited us again, wearing the vest and hat, *only*, as

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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fixed upon a maiden, though without her knowledge, his father sends a message to the girl's father, saying that he with his son and relatives will visit him shortly. The recipient of this message readily surmises the object of the visit, and if the prospective marriage is agreeable to him, makes preparations for a grand festival. Finally, after the festivities have lasted two or three days, the bridegroom's party suddenly seize the maiden in question, hurry her away to their canoes and disappear, as if they had kidnapped her. But no attempt is made to prevent this act, or to pursue the apparently fleeing party, and the girl is henceforth regarded as married.

Some other tribes test the skill of their young men in archery before allowing them to marry; and if one does not prove to be a good marksman, the maiden whose hand he seeks refuses him on the ground that he has not the skill to shoot fish and game enough to sustain a family.

Resuming our story of life among the Bororó: A very interesting naming, initiation, or naturalization ceremony, suggesting a Romish baptism, is observed for all male children while still in early babyhood. Early in the morning, at the first token of the approach of the "supreme power," the family and friends of the little one, whose body has been decorated by smearing it with gum and coating it with crimson and white feathers, accompanied by a conjurer, take up a position on the highest ground in the vicinity of the village; and at the *meri rutu*—sun rising—as the "supreme majesty and power" sweeps upward from behind forest and hill, bathing the earth in its glorious light, the conjurer pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument, made especially for the occasion, and beautifully ornamented with many-colored feathers, at the same time pronouncing, *Piadudu*, or the name of some other animal or object the name of which the child is to bear. *Piadudu*, softly repeat the family and friends; so *Piadudu*—humming-bird—a favorite name, becomes the name of the child. The Bororó, like most savages, regard their names as deep secrets for religious or other reasons, refusing to reveal them to any person not a member of

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a huge arched back and the long tail, the extremities form a wavy line; the picture was always recognized by others without difficulty as a jaguar. When for all the Bororó animals the faces are simply filled in black, one might attribute this to the drawing style of the sketchers and point out that the rest of the body is treated in the same way, but even the Bakaïrí on the Kulisehu plate I scribbles over the face of his jaguar. The Indian woman, Bororó II, who, of all the figures, shows the best proportions, has a completely scribbled /253/ head. Above the fine beard covering the torso of the center figure at the bottom, Bororo I, eyes, nose, and ears have been forgotten, the legs are stunted into beetle pincers. In none of the five Bakaïrí portraits has the mouth been drawn; none lacks the nose, which the Bakaïrí pierces. On the other hand, for the Bororó, who pierces the lower lip, it cannot happen that he would omit the mouth, whereas he forgot the nose twice.

BO
[304]

The profile position, so popular in the art of children, is absent in the Indian drawings of human beings and invariable in the case of four-legged animals. The former is to be regretted, since there can be no comparison with the cases where children give the profile two eyes and then, when they remember that the nose comes between the eyes, sometimes two noses as well, and furthermore where they attach double arms on the exposed side, since two must, of course, be shown, and so forth. It is to be hoped that these efforts of a childlike mind would by this time be impossible for the Indians. Nevertheless, among the sand drawings, we have to show an example that corresponds exactly to childlike art. The matrincham (Fig. 34 /see p. 263/) has two eyes next to the gill arch; the pakú (Fig. 35 /see p. 263/) in profile is likewise drawn with two eyes. That these are profile positions is shown in the case of the matrincham by the indication of the side line, the gill arch (exactly as in the case of the wooden fish), the fin position, and, finally, as also in the case of the pakú, the tail position. In the case of the ray, the two eyes are justified, since the Indian naturally avoids the problem of drawing it from the side.

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291 exaggerated. According to Langsdorff's description, however, the belt seems to be the main thing, since strands hung down freely and there was no band to be fastened to it. The observer himself does not believe that its purpose was concealment. There was very little of this likewise among our Bororó women, and, as far as their modesty is concerned, it remained not only partly, but entirely concealed, or more accurately, the very opposite of it was present and, quite apart from the dissoluteness of the Brazilian civilizers, was present in large measure to begin with. All things considered, I regard it as not impossible that the wide [482] belt of bark or tapir skin originally had a different purpose. The women carried home from the forest back-baskets so heavily loaded with palm nuts that they seemed almost to collapse under the load and were unable to walk, but only to trip along; moreover, the end of the back-basket rested in the small of the back on the strip of belt and the latter protected the skin here just as the bast ring protected the shoulders of the Kulisehu Indians in the transport of canoes. A piece of tapir skin, especially, must have served excellently as padding. Meanwhile, however, it had turned into a pretentious, tightly clasped armor.

• 304 [852] The ear lobes were pierced in the case of both sexes, but among the boys this was done by the father at the age of eight to ten years when they were beginning to practice hunting skills seriously and among the girls, as we shall see, it was done with an entirely different meaning by their future husbands.

[619] The pierced lower lip was the tribal mark of the men. I have told how our Antonio, whom a woman claimed as her stolen /475/ 301 son, was examined for this. Waehneldt says of the Bororó of the Jaurú that some of them also wear a sort of "toothpick" /Figs. 130-132 appear here/ in the nasal septum; an ornament of pieces of wood was found in the pierced lower lip on a number of them. In their everyday life our Bororó never wore anything at all in the hole of the lower lip. Only boys, cf. Fig. 128 /see p. 571/, were in the habit of using small sticks which kept the hole open; one saw bone splinters, for example, from the cayman, occasionally a nail, and sticks of resin with a little button at the end inside the mouth. Adults, for festive ornamentation, wore sticks of the

/475 cont./

301 same kind, cf. Plate 27 /see p. 588/, or the lip chain, cf. Plate 1 /see p. i/ and Figure 130. The chain consisted of half a dozen small elongated shell plates hanging on one another, with a small string tassel at the lower end, and was 12 centimeters long.

●304 852 The lip hole was pierced for the baby by the medicine man shortly after its birth. The instrument used for the operation, baragára, was a feather rod ending in a bone point, cf. Fig. 131 which was very showy and was worn in the hair as an ornament on festive occasions: the rod on which the bone was fastened with resin had alternate red and orange-colored little feathers densely pasted over it, with fine white down also in between now and then, and [301] → terminated at the upper end in a long blue arara feather, while at the point of attachment a bunch of striped falcon, parrot, and arara feathers hung down, about one meter long from tip to tip. The medicine man with the baragára in his hand danced in front of the baby, singing and stepping up to it and back, and on one of these rounds he pierced the lip.

Fig. 130. Lip chain. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 131. Lip piercer. Bororó. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 132. Scratching bone. Bororó. (2/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/ itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the result of the death ceremonies.

Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one. Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally, gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children were always doéte /sick/ (Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives 603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.

[853] [147] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are •[304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians 548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

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627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from [411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.

846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat, [844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the [515] forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done

847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If

853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."

757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,

846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.

352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip [304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.

551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

/503 cont./

855 Waehneldt emphasizes the great love of the parents for their children. "They guard them" he continues, "carefully from kidnappers; as soon as I came among them, they hid them all, and they all reappeared only after they were convinced that there was nothing to fear. One Indian asked me for a remedy for his sick son and said that if the latter should die he would eat so much earth that he would be buried with him." The fact that the lower lip is pierced in order to give children a distinguishing mark thus has a definite reason among the Bororó on the Jaurú also. We can only express ourselves in a similar manner about their love for their children; in spite of the heavy load, the baby was usually taken along into the forest, and on the homeward journey it was enthroned on the shoulders of the mother, her head between its legs. On the other hand, respect for the parents was less clearly expressed; they /504/ were intelligent but impudent scamps who were more stubborn than obedient.

[304] 854 593

852 Equipping the boys with cuffs is celebrated ceremoniously. They must spend the preceding day in the forest and get nothing to eat. The young warriors are blackened with soot and must endure all kinds of practical jokes; the chief sport is for two parties to station themselves on either side of the fire and toss the boys to each other.

764 [114] Death rites. Let us first learn about the Bororó on the Jaurú from Waehneldt.

"Their mourning- and burial-ceremonies take place in the middle of their villages, in the sanctuary itself (the enclosure mentioned on page 627). We were shown the clean bones of the oldest Indian, deceased a few months previously, who, after he had been buried for six months, was dug up again; the bones were clean and complete in number.

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"Each evening at this place they sang mourning songs and danced, while they covered each bone with colorful feathers and richly decorated the skull with arara and other feathers.

"These ceremonies lasted several weeks, whereupon the bones deposited in an urn are buried anew. Not all the dead, however, are honored to the same extent.

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## THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
[10] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade Indígena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
[16] number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In
two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*naukíno*) was built
62 on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of
342 houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house (*ishípd*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyetókwa*) made from a buriti palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled
[834] over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
● [304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imatá*) made
304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

## LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
[855] potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat. Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
[301] herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
302 ear pendants to let the young men know that she has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
[431] The family then invites the villagers to a feast. The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[P.127-B]

APPENDIX 2

# BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

6/b 6/1 daughter's husband is also *yedóga*. Boys are *méde*, girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irógo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *imágu*; sisters before puberty, *iwíye*; and sisters after puberty, *irógo*.

[B81] Children before puberty are just *méde* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irógo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[B81] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the [illegible] ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irógo*.

6/2 6/4

| *Chertáda clans* | *Tugarége clans* |
|---|---|
| 1. Bokodóri. | 1. Arári. |
| 2. Bakóro. | a. Arurécha bógi wógi. |
| 3. Badójebage. | b. Arurécha tchíbógiwógi. |
| 4. Kiédo. | 2. Iwágudodgi. |
| 5. Borótcheri. | a. Tobóreu. |
| 6. Óchera. | b. Kédjagureu. |
| | 3. Apíbóregi. |
| | 4. Ipayéda. |

60| daughter's husband is also *yeddgu*. Boys are *mede*,
girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's
616 sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and
*irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-
in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *iwágu*; sisters before puberty, *iwiye*; and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

601 Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drágo* (little) is added.

[881] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety.
●[304] After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

*Cheráida clans*

616 1. Bokodéri.
614 2. Bakóro.
2. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Boróteherá.
6. Ócbera.

*Tugaréde clans*

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tchibúgiwúgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tohóreu.
   b. Kódjagureu.
3. Apíbóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

[p. 127 (c)]